"Social sympathy and the feeling of solidarity is quite strong within the family and the sub-tribe, the members of which are united by the blood-tie. For instance the close relation between two brothers, and the duties arising therefrom, has already appeared from the custom of levirate, and will be further illustrated in connection with the institution of blood-revenge. Still, even within the family conflicts sometimes arise, it may be on account of the women or the dread of witchcraft, and in a few cases may lead to bloody tragedies. Fights may also arise at the drinking-feasts. In general, social sympathy has not developed among them those extreme forms which it assumes among the more primitive Chaco Indians, where it has led to a sort of practical communism or socialism, at least as regards food; but the Jibaros, supporting life with ease with their own work, are not dependent on one another to the same extent. We have seen for instance that great hospitality is shown to such strangers as are regarded as friends; but this hospitality is not, so to speak, a natural virtue, but a matter of etiquette, or more strictly speaking, a custom forming part and parcel of Indian 'diplomacy'. Ownership is strictly respected: everybody in the house, not only the family-father but also the wives and the children, have their private property--mostly consisting of ornaments of some kind--over which they have full control. Theft is unknown in the social life of the Jibaros, at least among the tribes unaffected by Christian civilization. To steal [251] from a person who has never offended him is clearly at

variance with that strong sense of justice which is one of the moral characteristics of the Jibaro. Unfortunately it is otherwise with the half-civilized and now more or less degenerated Canelos Indians, among whom I heard of several serious cases of theft."

1: Karsten--251 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 577, 177, 152 (1928-29)

"Closely connected with the honesty characteristic of the Jibaro Indian in his natural state is his faithfulness to his word. When I engaged the Indians to carry my baggage, I usually paid them in advance, so-and-so many yards of linen for a journey of so-and-so many days. When the Indians had received the payment this amounted to an engagement, and I could as a rule be sure that they would keep it and be ready to start on the day fixed for the journey. If for some reason, for instance owing to sickness, the Indian was unable to start, he returned the linen paid to him in advance. In this respect, however, the savage Jibaros were much more reliable than the 'Christian' Canelos Indians. The former never failed to fulfil their promises, whereas on the other hand the latter deceived me in at least one case, and I was told that other travellers had had similar experiences. Honesty and good faith are among those natural virtues which the Indians easily lose through contact with civilization.

Such at any rate is the Indian's morality in relation to a person who has his confidence. I do not think that truthfulness is generally a social virtue he displays in dealing with his fellow-tribesmen. The continual wars carried on between the tribes through the centuries, the necessity for the Jibaro Indian always to be on the alert against the evil designs of open or secret enemies, has naturally made him more or less treacherous and inclined to dissimulation. The Jibaro Indian may be frank and sincere to the person he trusts, but of persons whom he does not know he is suspicious, and persons whom he regards as his enemies he will deceive in the most deliberate way."

1: Karsten--256 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
152, 577 (1928-29)

"The Jibaro woman, owing to her characteristic industry and intelligence, well deserves the influential position she has in the group. Being of a calm and quiet disposition, she forms a beneficent contrast to her impulsive, passionate, and revengeful husband. Thus, as appears from what I have stated before, the women are natural arbitrators in the family, and when at the feasts the men get drunk and show fight, the women part them and deprive them of their weapons, frequently preventing in this way further calamities. On the other hand it must be added that this peaceful attitude is not maintained towards the enemies of the family and tribe. When the punishment of blood-guiltiness, e.g. --the murder of a son or a husband--is in question, they appear just as revengeful as the men and even excite them to take vengeance."

"The Jibaro Indian is wholly penetrated by the idea of retaliation; his desire for revenge is an expression of his sense of justice. His great principle is eye for eye, tooth for tooth, life for life. If one reprehends a Jibaro because he has killed an enemy, his answer is generally: 'He has killed himself'. But blood-revenge among these Indians is not merely owing to moral or ethical, but also to religious reasons. The soul of the murdered Indian requires that his relatives shall avenge his death. The errant spirit, which gets no rest, visits his sons, his brothers, his father, in dreams, and weeping conjures them not to let the slayer escape [272] but to wreak vengeance upon him for the life he has taken. If they omit to fulfil this duty the anger of the vengeful spirit may turn against themselves. To avenge the blood of a murdered father, brother, or son, is therefore looked upon as one of the most sacred duties of a Jibaro Indian. The expression which the Jibaros use for this is ayambruamáktinyu (in Quichua randipáshca) which means 'to avenge the blood of a murdered relation'. It may happen that a Jibaro keeps the thought of revenge in his mind for years, even for decades, waiting for the opportunity to carry it out, but he never gives it up. A man has perhaps been murdered while his sons were still small, and he has perhaps lacked brothers or other male relatives who were able to revenge his death. As soon as the sons become full-grown they know what their duty toward their murdered father requires of them. However, in such cases it sometimes occurs that the affair is settled

in a peaceful way. The sons of the murdered Indian send the following message to the slayer, or, if he is dead, to his sons: 'You (or your father) killed our father while we were still children. It is our duty to avenge his blood and to take your life in retaliation. But if you promise to pay such and such a price--a rifle, an axe, a good hound, etc.--we will regard the blood-guilt as atoned for and pardon you.' If the Indian thus threatened agrees with this, the matter is definitely settled. The Jibaros do not find anything repugnant in thus estimating the life of a parent in material equivalents, and an agreement like this is especially possible in cases where the crime to be punished has been committed very long ago. In cases of murder recently committed the indignation of the offended family is generally so great that any material compensation is out of the question, and an atonement in blood is required."

2: Stirling--115 [4]
116, 756, 577

(1930-1931) 1938

Jivaro

"Not only is the wishinu respected for the power which he wields, but he is likely also to be the wealthiest man of his group, because of the high prices which he charges for his services in curing. He may also draw pay for sending sickness for someone who desires revenge upon another person. There can be no doubt that the wishinu believes in his powers. He is thoroughly conscientious as a practitioner and spends many long sleepless nights working with his patients. He is regulated by a code of ethics whereby he will respond to a call however inconvenient it may be for him to do so. This conscientiousness may be partly determined by the fact that the wishinu is held personally responsible in the event his patient dies, and being so responsible, is liable to either compensation or blood revenge. As a curing doctor, it is the task of the wishinu to identify the particular spirit which has invaded his patient and then, through his knowledge of the method of controlling this spirit, to call it forth."

13: Rivet--253-254 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 577

The moral ideas of the Jíbaro are clearly evident from what we have said of his life, his customs, and his beliefs. His morality, primarily utilitarian, resembles Christian morals as little as possible. The Jívaro is neither good nor bad. One cannot speak of right, of honesty, with regard to these Indians, who recognize only the law of the strongest. Stealing by main force is a popular practice among them, (1), they consider assassination as a glorious act and treachery as a proof of skill and intelligence, in their eyes success justifies all crimes, and among them renown and respect are acquired, not by [254] the most honest, not even by the bravest, but by the most skillful and the most powerful.

To live freely, and allow no injury without vengeance: such is the double moral rule that directs all actions in the life of the savages.

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1. However, stealing outside of war would be frowned upon. Prieto. Descripcion de la provincia de los Jíbaros, etc...op. cit. in Compte, op. cit., V. II, page 63.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

large creatures. The particular animal forms can vary considerably, but some of the most common spirits include a pair of giant jaguars fighting one another as they roll over and over towards the vision-seeker, or two anacondas doing the same. Often the vision may simply be a single huge disembodied human head or a ball of fire drifting through the forest towards the spirit-seeker. When the apparition arrives to within 20 or 30 feet, the Jivaro must run forward and touch it, either with a small stick or his hand. This is said to require a good deal of courage, and sometimes the person does the spirit instead. But if he does run forward and touch the vision, it instantly explodes like dynamite and disappears.*

Upon thus achieving success in encountering an arutam, the person returns to his house, but tells anyone that he has accomplished the purpose of his quest. Arriving home, he goes alone to sleep that night on the bank of the nearest river. After nightfall, the soul of the same arutam he touched comes to him as he dreams. His dream-visitor is in the form of an old Jivaro man who says to him, "I am your arutam. Just as I have lived a long time, so will you. Just as I have killed many times, so will you." Without another word, the old man disappears and immediately the arutam soul of this unknown ancestor enters the body of the dreamer, where it is lodged in the chest.

Upon acquiring this arutam soul, the person feels a sudden power surge into his body, accompanied by a new self-confidence. The arutam soul is supposed to increase a person's power in the most general way. This power, called *kakaram*, is believed to increase one's intelligence as well as simple physical strength, and also to make it difficult for the soul possessor to lie or commit other dishonorable acts. His newly acquired power increases his resistance to contagious disease to some degree, but most importantly it makes it impossible for him to die as a result of any physical violence or sorcery. Most of his relatives and acquaintances shortly know that he has acquired an arutam soul simply because of the change in his personality. For example, he especially tends to speak with greater forcefulness.* However, he must not tell anyone that he has acquired such a soul, or it will desert him.

When one has thus obtained an arutam soul, he generally is seized with a tremendous desire to kill. If the person is past puberty, it is ordinarily only a matter of a few months before he joins or organizes a killing expedition. The rare women who possess arutam souls kill primarily by means of poisoning food or manioc beer.

Jivaro killing expeditions usually attack the victim's house just before dawn. Late in the afternoon of the day prior to the attack, the expedition halts in the forest about a quarter of a mile from its intended objective. There, in their concealed location, the participants must "declare" what kind of arutam they had each seen. The younger men form a circle around several of the most experienced killers who then ask each man in turn to describe the arutam that he had seen. As each man, young and old, does this, the soul of his arutam leaves his body forever, to roam again the forest as a wind, for arutam souls "are satisfied with one killing."[28] The departing arutam souls reportedly

/333 cont./

practice the use of weapons, live for battle and the hunt. Because of the highly developed sense of freedom of this nation, no one wants to be a servant; there can be no prisoners of war reduced to slavery because of the method of warfare to be discussed forthwith. Who is supposed to till the fields? Who is to perform all the tasks which do not befit the dignity of a warrior? It seems to me that a number of recognized wives are better than a swarm of servant maids subject to the despotism of the master! The men fell the trees, erect the house, and prepare a piece of land for cultivation; the cultivation of the field, always lying in the forest at some distance from the dwelling, like all other work, falls to the women.

One custom in the choice of wives deserves mention. That is, a man can take a small child, even one still at its mother's breast, as a wife; he then has the advantage of being able to rear the girl according to his inclinations, but he may also be obliged to take the mother with all the other children into his house and feed them.

Up to now I have purposely avoided mentioning the hair style, since this is conditioned by a peculiarly developed sense of honor, in the service of which the man's whole life is dedicated, as a consequence of which the whole nation is facing its certain downfall. The terrible custom of blood revenge prevails here with merciless harshness. For every slain member of a family the nearest relatives, for every fallen warrior the whole tribe, are obliged to take blood revenge. Either the victor himself must be murdered, or a fellow tribesman, a relative, must be sacrificed. The injured party arms secretly for an attack; the forest is soundlessly traversed, /334/ with all dwellings avoided, in order to be able to carry out in the darkness a sudden attack on the unprepared habitation. If possible, the house is set afire and the inmates murdered. Seldom does an attack succeed so completely that there is not time for one of the inhabitants to give the alarm signal with the war drum; often even violent battles take place. Then the families living in the neighboring tambos come to support their friends, pursue the

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

553 born. In some families, the father names both sons and daughters; but in others, the father may give the boys their names and the mother may bestow the names on the girls. If the father's father or the mother's mother are still alive, they may be asked to name the child of their own sex. In any [577] event, ideally the child should be named for a deceased relative of the parental or grandparental generation on either side of the family who, if male, was respected for killing and working hard and, if female, respected for working hard. [551] The names are often those of animals, especially birds, while many others have no meaning other than as names. Within a 304 few days of naming, both the male and female infants have their ears pierced.

847 Infanticide is regularly practiced only in the case of deformed children. It is accomplished by crushing the infant with a foot. Sometimes unmarried girls kill their "illegitimate" babies immediately upon birth if they have no expectation of marrying the father. Infanticide of undeformed babies [845] by married women seems to be unheard of. Birth of twins is never a reason for infanticide.

846 After the first two weeks or so, the new mother returns to the garden. The work there is arduous, involving much squatting and stooping in connection with harvesting manioc 854 and, especially, weeding. As a result, she normally leaves the infant at home in a small hammock by her bed. Since the garden work takes many hours of her day, the baby often becomes hungry and cries a great deal without getting attention. [857] If there is a daughter approximately four years of age or more in the household, the baby's mother will ask her to tend it. When the infant cries considerably, the baby-tender will pick it up and sing to it. Not surprisingly, the typical lullaby 854 among the Jívaro is not sung by the mother, but by a female 533 539

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

which was their publicly implied intention. As the drunkenness develops, men may get into arguments over normally repressed grievances or over allegedly flirtatious behavior with someone else's wife. Wrestling may ensue, or even hitting with a convenient palm wood slat. However, most parties do not involve such unpleasantness and end rather calmly as some of the participants pass out from drinking and exhaustion. If the head of the household has thus collapsed, a wife or daughter of his may make her way to an unmarried visitor's bed and spend part of the night with him.

The next day may be characterized by a "hangover" which is social as well as biochemical, when the various participants, embarrassed or angered over the previous night's events, face each other in the plain light of day. Hurried leave-takings may occur as visitors depart for their homes. While the early part of the prior evening's party may have given rise to temporary feelings of good fellowship, the later activities commonly tend to result in a "morning after" whose brooding mood hardly gives the impression that the parties are a clear-cut mechanism for social solidarity.

The most successful party-givers and hosts are those men who, in addition to having two or three wives to produce large amounts of beer and food, are respected by their neighbors for: their renown as killers in feuds and war, or as shamans; the achievement of age sufficient to have grandchildren; and who are generally of an amiable, honest, and magnanimous nature when dealing with those who are not their enemies. A man who has most of these characteristics is referred to by the term *untă*, which means "big" or "old" man. The demeanor of party participants in the house of such a man tends to be more circumspect and respectful of the master of the house, and excesses such as arguments and brawls seem to occur less often.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

fallen trees many a time; they resemble in every respect those of a clearing made by beavers.[8]

Today such "giant" trees as referred to by Up de Graff are often felled in a matter of hours by a single man employing a steel axe, or somewhat longer if he only has a machete.

Despite the increased availability of steel axes and machetes for land clearing and weeding in recent decades, the size of forest areas cleared for gardens has not become larger. In fact, garden size and agricultural production are actually reported to have decreased by perhaps a third of what they were several decades ago.[4] Specifically, elderly informants estimate that the present garden size per nuclear family is one half to three quarters of what it was in 1925. They attribute the decline in agricultural production to the disinclination of the young men to clear land "because they do not like to work hard the way their fathers did." Instead, according to the informants, the younger men have their minds fixed on acquiring shotguns, steel tools, and other goods by becoming shamans or trading partners, and also spend more time than formerly in visiting each other's houses, drinking, and engaging in pre- and extra-marital sexual adventures.

There has also been a growing tendency for each household to have several small garden plots rather than the single large garden which was previously typical. This change is attributed to the fact that the steel axe and machete are so much more efficient than the preceding stone tools that a man can now successfully work alone in tree felling without needing to call on his neighbors for help. By avoiding asking them for help, he hopes to maintain better relations with them and thereby secure their services in some more important matter. Since a man usually works alone at intermittent times, the individ-